

Language Attitudes Toward Devoicing Among Young Adults in
Buenos Aires

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ABSTRACT

Language is a vital tool in gaining insight into social structures and organization. Often times, we as humans make judgments about others based on how they speak. The purpose of this study is to examine the social connotations that surround the sounds [ɟ] (as in leisure), and [j] (as in shock), represented orthographically by the letters “y” and “ll”, in the Spanish of young Argentines in Buenos Aires. Recently, a trend in devoicing has been noted in Buenos Aires Spanish where the sound [ɟ], the voiced variant, is gradually being replaced by [j], the voiceless variant. Fontanella de Weinberg (1978) carried out one of the first quantitative studies and classified which groups of speakers used which variant. Her study showed that the trend in devoicing began among young females in Buenos Aires. Current studies have shown that in addition to age and gender, social class is significant to devoicing (Rohena-Madrado 2008). The goal of this project is to determine whether or not people from Buenos Aires can distinguish between the voiced and voiceless variants and if they can, what opinions they may have about people who use each variant.

This project is based on nineteen interviews conducted in the summer of 2008. The participants include young adults ages eighteen to thirty that are natives of Buenos Aires and have gone to college or are currently in college. There are nine female and ten male participants. Each interview consisted of background questions, listening to and identifying the pronunciations of three speakers, making judgments about those speakers, and self-assessment. The acoustic analysis of six participants’ speech confirms the general trend of devoicing and, interestingly, shows that one participant produced more voiced tokens as the interview progressed. The perception results from these interviews

show that the distinction between the voiced and voiceless variants is perceived by twelve of the nineteen participants. Often, the participants that were natives of an area outside of the city limits of Buenos Aires did not perceive the distinction.

Among the participants that did recognize the distinction, there was a variety of attitudes or opinions expressed. Explicit statements were made that linked the variable to both age and social class. Specifically, a few participants believed that [ʒ] marked older age, while others thought that it was indicative of those of the upper class. The participants talked about the voiced and voiceless variants in different ways, often showing either a negative or positive stance towards one or both of the variants, as well as using the variants to talk about and position themselves. The results prove that the distinction between [ʒ] and [ʃ] is salient for some young people in Buenos Aires and that it is used in different ways to make judgments about others and to construct identity.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

Language is a vital tool in gaining insight into social structures and organizations. Often times, we as humans determine who belongs to certain social groups based on how they speak. The purpose of this study is to examine the social connotations that are associated with the sounds [ɟ] (as in leisure), and [ʃ] (as in shock), represented orthographically by the letters “y” and “ll”, in the Spanish of young Argentines in Buenos Aires. These sounds or variants are of particular interest because they deviate from the standard Spanish pronunciation of [j], (similar to the sound in the English word yes). This process of change, in which [j] is replaced by [ɟ], is known as *žéismo*.

In recent years, it has been shown, especially in Buenos Aires, that there is a trend towards the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative, [ɟ], which is beginning to replace the voiced palato-alveolar fricative, [j], a process known as devoicing. Although the exact cause of this change has yet to be determined, it has been shown that it is a socially relevant change. While studies have been done to show what populations of Argentines, and more specifically *porteños* (people from Buenos Aires), use the distinct variants, it has never been shown whether or not the speakers themselves are cognizant of the two sounds and what those two sounds mean for them socially.

The aim of this project is to confirm that these sounds are socially relevant, determine what social variables are associated with these sounds, and discover how *porteño* youth perceive these sounds. Given that linguistic variables can often affect how one formulates identity, I hope to examine in what sense this variable is salient for young adults in Buenos Aires.

1.2 Background on Variants

The phenomenon of *žeísmo* has been heavily studied in Argentine Spanish in the last sixty years. It has been shown to be a process that started as early at the 19th century and that continues to change and develop today (Guitarte 1992). The devoicing of *žeísmo* began in Buenos Aires (Fontanella de Weinberg 1978) and from there has spread to other parts of Argentina (Lipski 1994). The sound changes that continue to take place with *žeísmo* and more recently with devoicing have created a situation in which there are many pronunciations existing at once in Argentina. Comprehensive studies (Vidal de Battini 1964) have shown that voiced *žeísmo* is seen in some areas of the country, devoicing in others, and the original slit fricative is maintained in still other regions.

Beyond the regional variation that exists, there is variation within the city of Buenos Aires as to the sounds that are present. While some have claimed that the voiceless variant is quite rare in Buenos Aires (Alonso 1961), most have come to the conclusion that the voiced and voiceless variants co-occur (Zamora 1949, Guitarte 1955, Fonantella de Weinberg 1978, Wolf and Jiménez 1979, Rohena-Madrado 2008, and others). Furthermore, it has been shown through variation studies that there is a trend in devoicing, whereby the voiceless variant is becoming more and more common (Fonantella de Weinberg 1978, Wolf and Jiménez 1979, Rohena-Madrado 2008).

1.3 Background on Devoicing Theories

The factors influencing the variation of this variable within Buenos Aires has been a topic of much debate within the field. One hypothesis is that the variation observed is due to emphasis or style (Alonso 1961, Zamora 1949). Zamora (1949)

supports this hypothesis by noting that the voiced variant is seen in “*dicción cuidada*” [careful diction] (p.11). These intuitions about the influence of style were later tested with the classic sociolinguistic interview. Using the four Labovian styles: spontaneous speech, formal questioning, reading a text, and reading a word list, *porteños* were interviewed to track the effect of style in their production of the variable. The analysis of these interviews show that there is not much difference observed between the four styles (Fontanella de Weinberg 1978, Wolf and Jiménez 1979). Therefore, style or emphasis does not appear to be very significant in whether a speaker uses the voiced or voiceless variant.

Another hypothesis stems from the gender differences observed. Variation studies have shown that women tend to exhibit a more advanced use of the voiceless variant (Guitarte 1955, Fontanella de Weinberg 1978, Wolf and Jiménez 1979). Women are an entire generation ahead of men in terms of the advancement of the change. Therefore, it is the accepted belief that the trend of devoicing began among young women in Buenos Aires (Fontanella de Weinberg 1978, Wolf and Jiménez 1979). This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that gender is still a significant factor in more recent variation studies on devoicing (Rohena-Madrado 2008). Other social factors besides gender are also significant to the trend of devoicing. Combined with the gender factor, there is an observable age difference. This keeps in line with the theory that devoicing is a change in process and therefore will be more prevalent among younger generations.

Throughout the study of *želismo* and devoicing, the role of social class has been considered and debated as well. While some researchers hypothesize that social class may be significant for these linguistic phenomena (Zamora 1949, Fontanella de Weinberg

1978), others claim that there are not many social class differences (Guitarte 1955, Wolf and Jiménez 1979). While it may have indeed been the case in the past that social class was not significant, more recent data shows it to be among the significant factors. Varbrul analysis of recent data shows that devoicing in palatal fricatives in Buenos Aires is sensitive to not only age and gender, but also social class: the upper class disfavors the use of the voiceless variant while the middle and lower classes favor its use (Rohena-Madrado 2008).

The notion of social class brings up the important question of consciousness. If this variable is something that characterizes the different classes of Buenos Aires, is it also something that *porteños* are conscious of and use to make social class judgments? Various hypotheses about the level of consciousness have been proposed. Guitarte (1955) claims that based on his evidence, there is no consciousness on the part of the speakers, and therefore devoicing cannot be a marker of social class.

On the other hand, Wolf and Jiménez (1979) show that upper class people in Buenos Aires are conscious of devoicing. In order to get at perceptions, they played a tape of a speaker who uses the voiceless variant to a young male and female of the upper class and found that they thought it was characteristic of “*un habla ‘vulgar’*” [‘vulgar’ speech] (p. 118) due to the devoicing. Furthermore, they state that although the variable cannot be seen as a stereotype or marker in the traditional Labovian sense, there may exist “*una norma evaluativa frenadora del cambio*” [an evaluative norm stopping the change] (p. 124). The real-time follow-up project done by Wolf (1984) confirms this, showing that while the lower and middle class participants were producing increasingly devoiced variants, the upper class participants actually recovered sonority over the

studied time span. This finding is significant because it shows that the upper class, in their use of more voiced variants, may be responding to a negative connotation associated with the voiceless variant (p. 183). Wolf maintains the former claim that only the upper class is conscious of devoicing (p. 186); however, this is something that should be called into question. There is in fact no specific evidence as to why the two variants would only be consciously distinguished by the upper class.

The present study thus aims to find out whether *porteños* are consciously aware of the distinction between the voiced and voiceless variants, regardless of their social class. In addition, the present study hopes to elicit the specific social attitudes and perceptions that *porteños* may have based on the distinction between the voiced and voiceless variants. These are interesting questions to ask because they get at the consciousness of the objects of study in the works mentioned above.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 Participant Distribution

Nineteen interviews were conducted in various locations in Buenos Aires during the months of July, August and September of 2008. The participants were recruited by word of mouth using the contacts I had previously made in Buenos Aires. The criteria for the participants were the following: 1) they be between the ages of eighteen and thirty; 2) they were currently or had been previously enrolled at a university; 3) they have lived their entire life in greater Buenos Aires. These criteria were used in order to select a relatively homogeneous group of participants in terms of age and social class, so that hopefully the participants might share some common attitudes or perceptions. The exact socioeconomic class of the participants cannot be determined, although they would probably be classified as middle or upper class because of their high level of education and neighborhood of residence. There are an almost equal number of female and male participants, with nine females and ten males. In the recruitment of each participant, whether they met the criteria of the study or not was determined before an interview appointment was made. In most cases, I already knew this information about the participants; however, in some cases it was elicited from the person who had suggested those participants to me.

Demographic information about the participants is found in Table 1 on the next page. The ages of the participants interviewed range from nineteen to twenty-nine. The residence column shows whether the participant is from within the city limits, denoted by CF for *Capital Federal* [Federal Capital], or outside of the city limits, denoted by Pro for *Provincia* [Province]. The specific neighborhood of residence for each participant is

found in the fourth column. One participant had lived most of her life in *Provincia* but had moved to *Capital Federal* for university and work and therefore both of her residences are noted. The neighborhoods represented by the participants from CF make up only a small sample of the city of Buenos Aires and are primarily in the central and northern parts of the city, as seen in the map of Buenos Aires that follows.

Table 1: Participant distribution in terms of gender, age, geographic location (*Capital Federal* or *Provincia*), and neighborhood of residence

Gender	Age	Residence	Neighborhood
F	19	Pro	Luján
F	22	CF	Belgrano
F	22	Pro	Lobos
F	25	Pro/CF	Bella Vista/Villa Crespo
F	26	CF	Colegiales
F	27	CF	Palermo
F	27	CF	Belgrano
F	29	Pro	San Isidro
F	29	Pro	Quilmes
M	19	Pro	Luján
M	21	CF	Palermo
M	22	Pro	Urasco
M	22	CF	Flores
M	23	CF	Belgrano
M	24	CF	Sáenz Peña
M	25	CF	Belgrano
M	27	Pro	San Isidro
M	28	CF	Caballito/Almagro
M	29	CF	Congreso

Figure 1: Map of *Capital Federal* of Buenos Aires by neighborhood¹



2.2 The Interview Schedule

Each interview consisted of two parts: the first part included general questions while the second part was comprised of variable recognition and language attitudes. All interviews were audio recorded and the overall style of the interviews was informal in most cases as most of the participants were either my friends or acquaintances. The

¹ 1 "The city of Buenos Aires". [Online image] Available at http://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/tqj_MaiLroEc66v74ZsZLw, March 21, 2008

interviews took place in various locations in Buenos Aires convenient for the participants. Before each interview began, the participants were asked for their consent according to the protocol approved by the Institutional Review Board (2008B0132, approved June 9th, 2008). It was determined that signed consent forms would not be appropriate in this interview context and consequently a verbal consent script was used instead. Copies of the Spanish script and interview schedule can be found in the appendix, along with their English translations.

The first part of each interview consisted of general questions about the participant's education, occupation, family makeup, friends and social life. The purpose of these questions was two-fold. First, they were intended to get some background information about the participants. Secondly, the questions provided an opportunity to elicit natural production of the variable. If after the first part was completed the participant had not naturally produced the variable, the plan was to show them pictures of things and ask them to say what they were in order to elicit production. A copy of these pictures can be found in the appendix. All participants naturally produced at least one token of the variable in the first part of the interview and therefore the pictures were not used.

At the beginning of the second part of the interview, I told the participants that they were going to listen to three audio files and that after hearing them, they should tell me if there was a difference between the three. Before any of the interviews took place, these audio files were collected. Originally, I thought the traditional matched guise (Lambert et al. 1960) would work for the audio files and had one speaker record three different pronunciations. Upon using these audio files in the first interview, I realized that my

participants would realize that it was the same person in the three audio files and that the recordings I had made were not completely accurate for each of the three pronunciations.

After this pilot interview, I decided to change my technique to a verbal guise (Cooper 1975) in which three different speakers were recorded saying the same sentence. Each person was asked to read from a notebook the sentence: *Ayer hablé con un amigo, me dijo que nos encontramos en Olleros* [Yesterday I talked to my friend, he told me to meet him at Olleros]. The first audio file was of a male in his late twenties from the neighborhood of Belgrano who was studying to be a pilot. The second audio file was of a male small business owner in his early thirties who was from Villa Urquiza. The final audio file was of a female professor in her mid-fifties who was from San Isidro.

Originally, these three speakers were chosen because they were thought to represent three distinct types of voicing: partially voiced for the first speaker, voiceless for the second speaker, and voiced for the third speaker. Later, upon acoustic analysis of the stimuli, it was discovered that while Speaker 2 and Speaker 3 are completely voiceless and voiced respectively as was originally thought, the two stimuli tokens from Speaker 1 are fully voiced instead of partially voiced. However, there is still a difference between Speakers 1 and 3, apart from the fact that one is male and one is female. Speaker 1 can be considered an intermediate in between Speakers 2 and 3 because of the duration of the fricative of his tokens. Speaker 2 has the longest tokens with durations of .095 for and .125 seconds for the words *ayer* and *olleros*. Speaker 3 has the shortest tokens with durations of .040 and .043 seconds. Speaker 1's tokens, on the other hand, fall in between the two in terms of duration at .054 and .059 seconds. Since voicing tends to map onto duration in that voiced fricatives tend to be shorter than voiceless fricatives, it is valid to

say that Speaker 1 may be perceived as less voiced than Speaker 3, even though they both appear to be fully voiced. Further confirmation of this distinction is that several participants commented on a difference between Speakers 1 and 3.

The participants were not instructed to listen for any kind of difference in particular, but rather were simply asked to tell me if there was a difference between the three audio files and if so, what that difference was. If the participants did not recognize the variable as a difference between the audio files, I then played them two other audio files of the single word *llamáme* [call me], spoken by the first and third speakers, and instructed them to do the same as with the first set of audio files. The purpose of the second set of audio files was to make the difference more obvious to the participants. With both sets of audio files, the participants were allowed to listen to them as many times as they wanted. In the end, all participants heard the first set of audio files two or three times and nine participants also heard the second set of audio files. However, later in the language attitude section, the participants were asked to make judgments about only the speakers of the first set of audio files.

Whether the participant recognized the variable or not, I then asked them to decide which speaker sounded most like their own speech. In some of the cases in which the participant recognized the variable, he or she went on immediately to tell me about the speakers and thus the self-perception came after the variable attitudes. In general, however, I tried to have them tell me their self-perception first and then go on to tell me about the speakers so that their self-perception would not be affected by the attitudes or opinions they expressed. While interaction between self-perception and variable attitudes is a valid concern, there does not seem to be a notable difference in this regard when one

interview order is compared to the other. Regardless of order, the participants were also asked in the self-perception if they always spoke the same way and if they thought they spoke the same or different than their family and friends.

Only participants who recognized the variable were asked the questions under the “variable attitudes” section of the interview. It would have been interesting to see what perceptions those people in the “variable not recognized” category had communicated; however, they would have constituted something very different. I made the decision to only elicit the attitudes of those in the “variable recognized” category because their attitudes would be more related to the variable since they had made that distinction between the pronunciations and had just been talking about it. The participants were asked about the speakers one by one and were allowed to listen to the audio files again as many times as they wanted. For each speaker, they were first asked to estimate the relative age of the speaker. I asked them this question because I had hypothesized that their attitudes about this variable may have something to do with age. As devoicing is a change in progress, it would be logical if they associated the voiced variant with older generations that had not completely undergone the change.

Each participant was then told to assume the speaker was from within the city limits of *Capital Federal* and asked to determine which neighborhood the speaker was from. It has been shown by many sources that in Buenos Aires a “fragmentación socioterritorial de la ciudad” [socioterritorial fragmentation of the city] (Torres 2001) has lead to the segregation of socioeconomic classes in certain parts of the city. While there remain neighborhoods that are largely heterogeneous in terms of socioeconomic class, there are some general residence tendencies within *Capital Federal*. Torres (2001) and Ciccolella

(1999) signal that the central and northern areas represent the higher standards of living and in particular name Centro, Barrio Norte, Belgrano, Recoleta and Palermo as the canonical upper class neighborhoods. Both authors also mention a growing trend of “suburbanización de las *élites*” (Torres 2001) in which the upper class are increasingly constructing their luxury homes and apartments outside of the city limits, parts of which could be classified as *Zona Norte* [northern zone]. In lieu of this geographical distribution of socioeconomic class, the purpose of the neighborhood of residence question was to indirectly get the participants to talk about the notion of social class in reference to the speakers.

The last question about the speakers’ occupations was not asked of all participants; however, when it was asked, its aim was to further elicit opinions about the speakers. All participants were allowed to talk freely as time permitted; however, most interviews did not last longer than twenty minutes. After each interview was over and the digital audio recorder was stopped, each participant was asked to listen to a portion of their own interview to determine whether they still agreed with the self-perception assessment they had given earlier. In the case of those participants who did not recognize the variable, they were debriefed when they wanted to be with what the aim of the study was. In all cases, there was no compensation given to the participants; however, they were thanked for their time and offered a sheet with contact information for them to voice any complaints or questions about the study.

2.3 Qualitative Data Analysis

Upon return to the United States, the interviews were analyzed qualitatively as well as quantitatively. The qualitative analysis began with compiling the important information from both parts of the interviews for each participant. A large spreadsheet was used to record the following information: age, sex, geographic location, neighborhood, major in college, current job, variable recognition, language attitudes and self-assessment. Using this spreadsheet, I sought out patterns between the categories. Initially, participants were put into three groups: those who did not recognize the variable, those who expressed attitudes linking the variable to age, and those who expressed attitudes linking the variable to social class. Ultimately, it was decided that age and social class may have both been relevant to some participants; however, the groups helped to begin to see how the attitudes were patterning.

As will be seen in the results, the attitudes expressed were categorized as either implicit or explicit. Implicit attitudes are those statements said about the speakers of the audio files that may or may not have to do specifically with the variable. Explicit attitudes are those that directly link the variable to one or more social categories, which in most cases was age or social class. Frequent terms, such as *cheto(a)*, were examined in both types of attitudes in order to get an idea of how the participants were talking about the variable.

The self-assessment for each participant was compiled to create totals for identification to each of the three speakers. Also, what participants said about their self-assessment after listening to themselves was examined to see if any of them changed their perception of themselves. Beyond the mere identification of one of the speakers, specific

statements made about self-assessment were examined as well. For the participants whose speech was also analyzed acoustically, their self-assessment was compared in very general terms to their production of the variable.

Finally, stance and affect were examined for the explicit language attitudes and self-assessment. In some cases, the participants may have been saying the same information about the relationship between the variable and a social category, but the stance they took was very different. Some statements were relatively neutral in terms of valence, while others were clearly negative or positive. Often times, the particular stance that someone made was very much related to their self-assessment and both served as a way for the participants to tell me about their identity.

2.4 Quantitative Data Analysis

Quantitative analysis included the acoustic analysis of six participants' speech. Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2008) was used to analyze 10-20 tokens from five participants and 34 tokens from one participant. These participants were selected in order to represent a range of language attitudes, neighborhoods of residence, and gender (three males and three females were analyzed). Where possible, an equal number of tokens for each participant were taken from the first and second parts of the interview. The purpose of this balance was to be able to compare in general the participants' production from the first part of the interview to that of the second part. Each token was coded for voicing using a tripartite distinction: voiceless, partially voiced, and fully voiced. The tokens were also measured for relative duration of the sound in question, preceding and following segment, and whether the syllable containing the token was accented or not.

A recent acoustic analysis (Chang 2007) reports the existence of several allophones of the variable and concludes that these allophones exhibit a continuum of voicing. While Chang used percentage voicing to analyze the data, I determined that the tripartite distinction would be best for this study. Each of the 105 tokens was coded in this distinction using both auditory and acoustic clues. The acoustic clues examined included periodicity and voicing bar. If there was any doubt about a token's categorization, it was sent to a trained phonetician for confirmation.

Tokens were coded as voiceless if the spectrogram lacked a voicing bar and the waveform was mostly aperiodic. Tokens were coded as fully voiced if the voicing bar in the spectrogram was complete throughout the duration of the fricative and the waveform was mostly periodic. Partially voiced tokens were categorized as having a partial voicing bar, usually present at the beginning and end of the fricative. Many of the tokens included significant background noise and thus the combination of acoustic and auditory clues was important in classification. If it was not possible to classify a token due to extreme background noise, it was thrown out. The figures that follow show examples of voiceless, partially voiced, and fully voiced tokens.

Figure 2: Waveform and spectrogram of the word “yo” [I]; the token is voiceless because the wave is aperiodic and there is no voicing bar at the bottom of the spectrogram

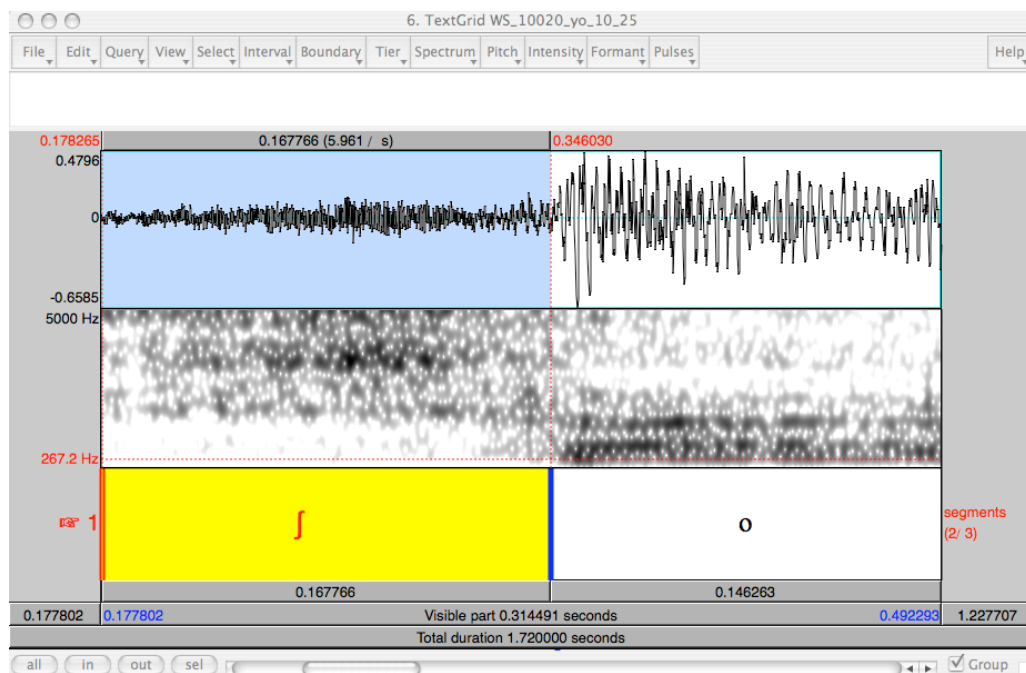


Figure 3: Waveform and spectrogram of the word “mayor” [older]; the token is partially voiced because there is a voicing bar just at the beginning and end of the token

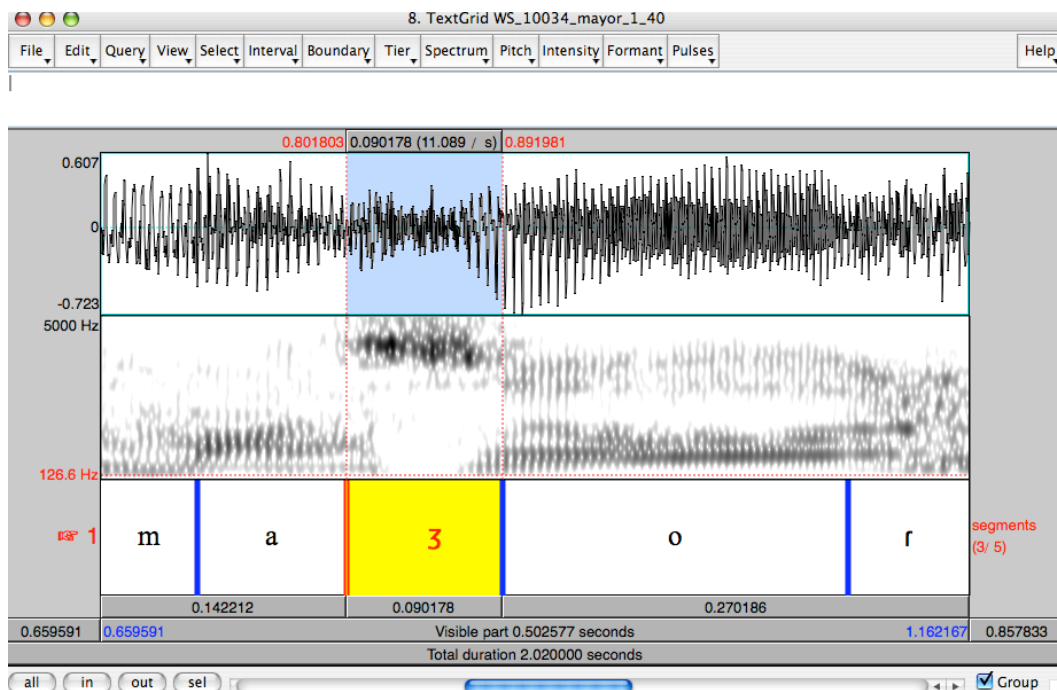
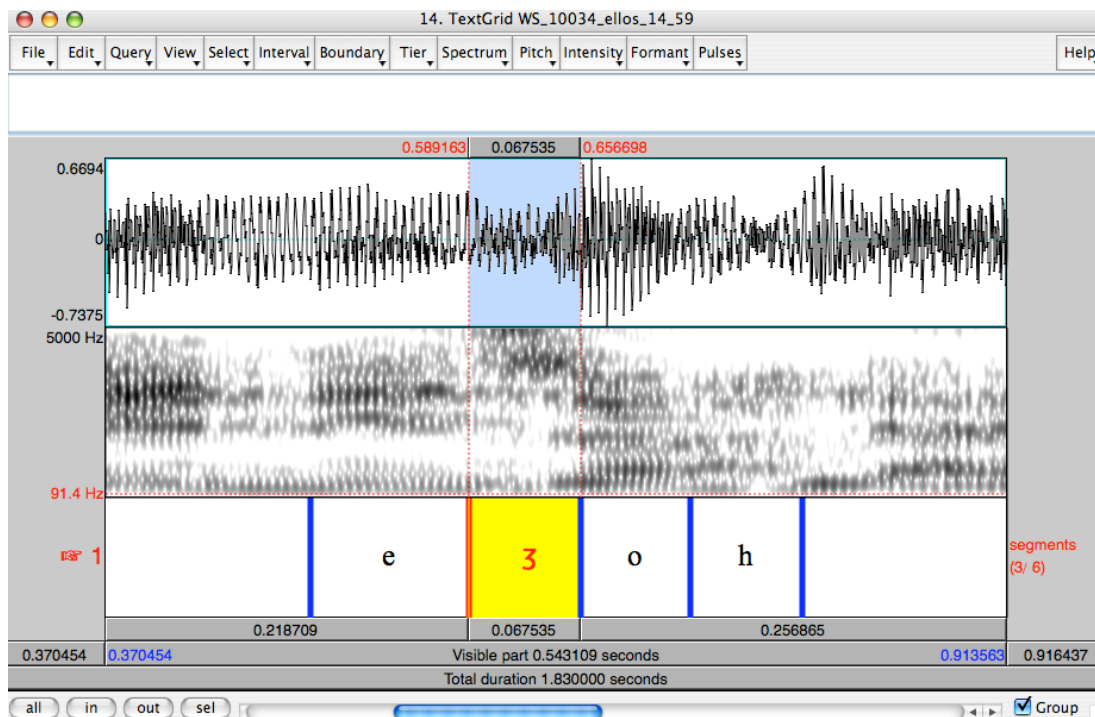


Figure 4: Waveform and spectrogram of the word “ellos” [they]; the token is fully voiced because the wave is somewhat periodic and there is a full voicing bar in the spectrogram



Duration for each token was judged based on the period of frication of the fricative. I took each measurement myself and tried as much as possible to use the same criteria for each of the tokens. The beginning of the fricative was determined as the beginning of frication and in cases where the token was intervocalic, the end of the preceding vowel formants. In the few cases where the token was after a pause, the beginning was also judged based on the beginning of the waveform. In both cases, the waveform was also used to look for a change in pattern as the beginning of the fricative. The end of the fricative was judged using similar methods. The end was determined using the end of frication, the start of the next vowel's formants (all tokens were followed by a vowel), and a change in the waveform.

Preceding segment was coded as a pause, vowel, or the specific segment if it was a consonant. Following segment would have been coded using the same distinction; however, all of the tokens were followed by a vowel. Tokens were coded as “accented” if they were contained within the accented syllable of the word, as was the case with the vast majority of tokens. Additionally, miscellaneous notes were taken to record abnormalities with any of the tokens.

The methodology currently presented for the acoustic analysis will become even more apparent as the results of the acoustic analysis are discussed at the beginning of the next chapter. The next chapter begins with the acoustic analysis in hopes to create continuity between the methodology and results. After reporting on the acoustic analysis, the results will follow the same general organization as the interview schedule. In each step of the results, it is important to keep in mind the methodology just discussed in order to be clear about what exactly the participants responded to.

Chapter 3: Results and Analysis

3.1 Acoustic Analysis

First, the results of the acoustic analysis will be discussed, so that they may be considered later in the chapter in terms of the attitude results. The overall results from the acoustic analysis of the six selected participants can be seen in Table 2, with each participant in the first column and the totals for all participants at the bottom of the table. As stated before, the speech of three females and three males was analyzed using the tripartite distinction of voiceless, partially voiced, and fully voiced.

Table 2: The number of voiceless, partially voiced, and fully voiced tokens for the six participants who were acoustically analyzed with totals at the bottom and F7 highlighted for emphasis

Participant	Voiceless	Partially Voiced	Fully Voiced
M1	7	2	0
M9	10	1	0
M10	16	0	0
F3	11	0	0
F4	20	2	2
F7	10	7	17
Totals	74	12	19

The totals for all participants confirm the general trend of devoicing discussed earlier, as the majority of the tokens coded were voiceless. In fact, five of the six

participants analyzed had very few or no partially voiced or fully voiced tokens. If devoicing is in fact a change that began many years ago, we would expect these participants to be mostly voiceless due to their relatively young age and that is precisely what is found with the acoustic analysis. Participant F7 is highlighted in Table 2 because her production was quite different from that of the other participants whose speech was analyzed. Instead of a majority of voiceless tokens, F7 produced more partially voiced and fully voiced tokens than voiceless. The uniqueness of her interview, both acoustically and attitudinally, will be discussed in detail at the end of this chapter.

In terms of further acoustic detail, there are several things that are relevant to the discussion of the production of this variable. For example, the voiceless tokens in the data tended to be longer in duration than the voiced tokens. This and other acoustic features could be examined in further analysis of the data, but they are not the focus of the current study.

3.2 Variable Recognition

This section examines the results of the variable recognition task in which the participants were asked to determine the difference between the three audio files. Participants were placed into two categories based on their response: “variable recognized” and “variable not recognized”. They were judged as exhibiting “variable recognized” if they somehow distinguished the difference between the pronunciations of the voiced and voiceless variants. There were a variety of ways in which they made this distinction, which will be discussed below. The participants in the “variable not recognized” category may have listed several other differences between the three audio

files but did not explicitly list the pronunciation difference in question. Participants were only judged on their overt opinions that were verbalized in the interview and therefore only conscious awareness is considered. One participant (M5), after hearing the second set of audio files, realized that the *porteño* pronunciation of this sound was the variable in question. With much excitement at figuring out the point of the study, he expressed that what was heard in the audio files was indeed how *porteños* in general talk and that it is what sets them apart from other speakers of Spanish. However, he was still unable to recognize a difference between the three speakers and therefore was classified as “variable not recognized.” The relationship between the results of the variable recognition and the participants’ residence can be seen in the table that follows.

Table 3: Participants’ variable recognition compared to their geographic location within Buenos Aires; “within city limits” is *Capital Federal* and “outside of city limits” is *Provincia* as seen in Table 1

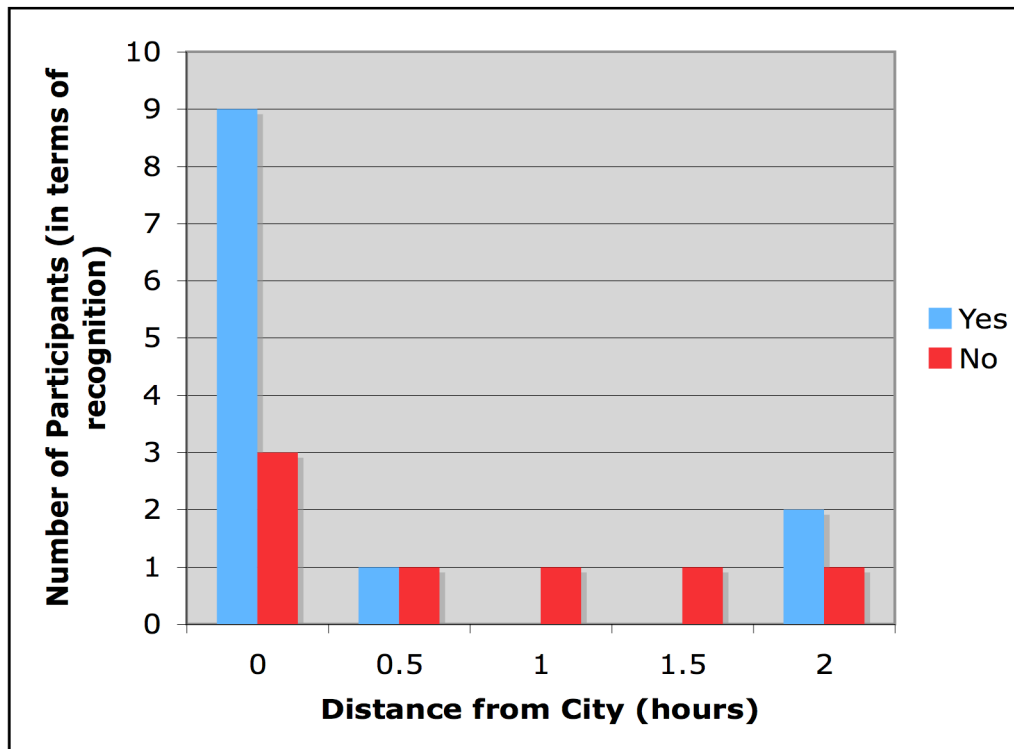
	Variable Recognized	Variable Not Recognized
Within City Limits	9 (47%)	3 (16%)
Outside of City Limits	3 (16%)	4 (21%)

The major pattern represented in the table is the distinction between participants that are within the city limits and those that are outside of the city limits of Buenos Aires.

“Within the city limits” means they are from a neighborhood that is considered part of *Capital Federal* [Federal Capital]. On the other hand, “outside of city limits” means those from *Provincia* [province]: those that are from a neighborhood that is within the province of Buenos Aires but not within the limits of *Capital Federal*. The distinction between *Capital Federal* and *Provincia* is a valid one to make for several reasons. First of all, there is a governmental separation between the two. Torres (2001) describes that *Capital Federal* is an autonomous city and has its own government that is separate from the provincial government seat in La Plata. Another, perhaps more important reason is that this is a distinction that the participants themselves make. The participants from outside the city limits often refer to themselves as being from “*Provincia*” and several participants, regardless of their residence, commented on the differences in way of life between those from *Capital Federal* and those from *Provincia*.

The general tendency seen from Table 3 is that the majority of participants from within the city limits recognized the variable, while over half of the participants from outside of city limits did not recognize the variable. It is important to note that a chi-square test in this case is not appropriate due to the small number of participants. Some of the expected values would be lower than five and therefore quantitative tests are not suitable for the data. Despite the small number of participants, it is still important to recognize the overall pattern exhibited. The graph that follows shows the number of participants who did or did not exhibit recognition compared to the distance from the city in hours.

Figure 5: Participants' variable recognition compared to their distance from the city limits of *Capital Federal* in hours



In Figure 5, the distance from the city is relative to location within or outside of the city limits. All participants from within the city limits are classified as zero hours away from the city. Participants from outside the city limits are classified by the number of hours it takes for them to get to the city by bus. The overall tendency seen in the graph is that the farther a participant is from the city, the less likely it is that they will recognize the variable. The one deviation in this trend is mostly due to the participants' educational background. Two of the three participants that are from two hours away from the city are studying to be translators and are therefore more cognizant of the difference between voiced and voiceless sounds because of their phonetics classes. Therefore, without considering these two participants, the general trend of the graph is more striking.

Turning now to look at the specific differences that were named by participants, it is important to note that the audio files presented varied in many ways since three distinct speakers recorded them. Again, this use of verbal-guise technique (Cooper 1975) was necessary because otherwise the participants would probably recognize that it was the same speaker in all three files; however, it does cause the presence of other differences between the three audio files.

Concentrating first on the differences noted by the participants in the “variable not recognized” category, a few patterns are seen among participants’ responses. The first most obvious difference noted by many participants is that of gender. The first two speakers are male, while the third is female. Other common differences noted by those who did not recognize the studied variable were differences in tone, intonation and emotion. Some participants thought that Speaker 1 was more direct, angry, or aggressive, for example, while they described Speakers 2 and 3 using different adjectives. Lastly, participants noted differences in accentuation, emphasis, punctuation, speed and clarity.

Those participants who ultimately recognized the studied variable also noted some of the differences noted by the “variable not recognized” participants. Gender and tone again were important distinctions, as well as style and formality. Some participants perceived a certain speaker as reading the sentence, which is actually true for all three speakers, while they perceived others as having a conversation or acting. Notably, Speaker 2 was most consistently perceived as not reading, that is, as either having a conversation or acting, which may have had an effect on the other ways in which he was described. Most participants in the “variable recognized” category, however, were quick to mention the difference in pronunciation, which they did in a variety of manners. One

common phrase heard from participants was “la diferencia está en la [ʃe]” [the difference is in the [ʃ]] (M7). Calling attention to the fact that this pronunciation is typical of Argentine Spanish and more specifically Buenos Aires Spanish, other participants noted, “la diferente forma de pronunciar que tiene el porteño” [the different manner of pronunciation that the *porteño* has] (F7). By this statement, F7 means in general the different pronunciations that any *porteño* may have. In combination with these statements, many participants also exemplified the perceived difference by imitating the three speakers, either reproducing the entire sentence or just the words “ayer” and “olleros”. Finally, one of the translation students was actually able to identify the third audio file as voiced and the other two as voiceless, using exactly that technical terminology.

3.3 Implicit Language Attitudes

The purpose of the questions that followed the presentation of the audio files was to tease out some of the attitudes that might be associated with this variable. Participants were asked specifically to determine the relative age, neighborhood of residence, and likely occupation of each of the three speakers. Some participants responded with overt attitudes directly tying the variable to a particular quality, as well as merely responding to the questions asked of them, showing in some way their more implicit attitudes. Due to the nature of the questions, most of the answers pattern into the categories of “age” and “social class”, although some other distinctions were expressed. Social class was not explicitly asked of the participants, however, many of them mentioned it in deciding the speaker’s likely neighborhood of residence or possible job. It is important to keep in

mind that these are the general impressions of the speaker and may be linked to other differences between the speakers as well. Nonetheless, the correlation between the implicit and explicit attitudes would suggest that the characteristics in Table 4 are at least in part linked to the variable. The implicit attitudes given for each speaker are seen in Table 4 on the next page with the numbers in parentheses indicating the number of times the response appeared in the data. I have translated all responses from Spanish to English. “*Cheto(a)*” can be roughly translated as “snobbish” but has been kept in the original Spanish due to frequent use. It can be found in two forms: *cheto(a)* or *concheto(a)*, but the meaning remains the same for either.

Looking in the first column, it is evident that there is not a large consensus on the age of the speakers, although none of them were given an age any older than forties. The general pattern of the responses shows that Speakers 1 and 3 are probably older than Speaker 2. In terms of neighborhood, Speaker 3 is clearly situated in the northern region of Buenos Aires, which, as discussed in the methods, is thought of typically as characteristic of higher class. Speaker 2, on the other hand, is seen by the participants to be from central or southern Buenos Aires, which is usually associated with the lower classes. One participant did note, however, that since the neighborhoods are not entirely homogenous, Speaker 2 could be from Belgrano, which is in the North. This comment actually confirms the conclusion that Speaker 2 is a lower class because it concedes that he *could* be from Belgrano, despite perhaps not being upper class. Speaker 3 seems to fall somewhere in between the other two, sharing some neighborhoods with Speaker 2 and some with Speaker 3. Participants generally expressed that Speakers 1 and 3 belong to the Upper Middle Class or even Upper Class, while Speaker 2 belongs to the Middle

Class. In the last column, the use of “*cheto(a)*” is paramount in describing Speaker 3, and to a lesser degree Speaker 1. This term is usually used to somewhat negatively describe those of the Upper Class.

Table 4: Overall implicit attitudes expressed about each of the three speakers of the audio files; these attitudes pattern into the categories of age, neighborhood, social class, and other

	Age	Neighborhood	Social Class	Other
Speaker 1 (intermediate in terms of duration)	20's, 23-26, 26-27 (3), 20- 30 (2), 35+, 30-40, young (3), older than Speaker 2	Palermo (3), Belgrano (4), Almagro, Caballito, Recoleta, North Region	Upper Middle Class (4)	More <i>porteño</i> (2), somewhat <i>cheto(a)</i> (2), intermediate, lawyer
Speaker 2 (uses only voiceless variants)	20's, 20-22, 25, 30+, younger than Speaker 1, same as first, relatively young	Caballito (2), Almagro (2), Flores (3), Liniers, Belgrano, Munro, more South	Middle Class (3), Upper Middle Class, Lower Middle Class	Common, “standard”, cool, gas station attendant, normal, more <i>porteño</i>
Speaker 3 (uses only voiced variants)	20, 20's, 25- 26, 26-30+, 35 (2), 30-40, 40's (3), older (2), middle- aged	Recoleta (6), Belgrano (3), Palermo (2), North Region (3)	Upper Middle Class, Upper Class, other standard of living, high social group	Better way of speaking, <i>cheto(a)</i> (6), marked (3), posh, private college

3.4 Explicit Language Attitudes

As mentioned before, several participants expressed explicit opinions that they linked to the variable. Focusing first on age, F7 said, “mis padres, por ejemplo, hablan

mucho...con la [ʒe]. Pero porque es normal y toda su generación siendo de cualquier barrio habla con la [ʒe]" [my parents, for example, speak a lot...with [ʒ], but because it's normal, and their whole generation, from any neighborhood, speaks with [ʒ]].

Immediately after hearing the audio files, M1 noted that the difference in pronunciation "tiene que ver con la diferencia de edad" [has to do with the difference in age]. M1 also noted that the voiceless variant "es una tendencia entre los jóvenes" [is a tendency among young people] and that "en general, los jóvenes no usan este sonido de [ʒ]" [in general, young people do not use this [ʒ] sound]. In reference to Speaker 3's pronunciation, F1 responded, "una mujer más joven no hablaría como habló esa mujer" [a younger woman would not speak the way this woman did].

More frequently seen were explicit attitudes linking the variable with social class. First, statements that were relatively neutral with little valence will be examined, and then others that took a strong negative or positive stance will be discussed. There were several statements made that somewhat neutrally stated the general relationship between the variable and social class. For example, F4 alleged that, "tiene que ver, un poco, que ver con lo social, me parece, un poco, el tema de la doble ele" [it has to do, a little, to do with something social, it seems to me, a little, the matter of the "double l"]. While "something social" is very broad, further comments from F4 confirm that in this case she is referencing social class specifically. Additionally, upon identification of the variable, F7 commented, "todos lo ligan con la clase social, en parte, y el barrio y el grupo de amigos" [everyone links it to social class, in part, and to neighborhood and group of friends]. Further confirmation of this relationship is given by M6: "la gente tiene el mismo tipo de pronunciación, muchas veces. ¿Por qué? Porque ya no es una cuestión de

[barrio]...es una cuestión de clase social” [people have the same type of pronunciation many times. Why? Because it’s no longer a question of [neighborhood]...it’s a question of social class]. These statements serve to state in general terms that this difference in pronunciation has something to do with the notion of social class.

Other comments from participants specifically referenced the relationship between the voiced variant and a higher social class, but did not take any particular stance towards it. F8 stated that she knew Speaker 1 was from, “Zona Norte, por cómo hace con la [ʒe], [oʒeros]” [Northern Region, because of how he uses [ʒ], [oʒeros]]. Similarly, F2 said about Speaker 3, “ese [aʒer] es como más de Recoleta o Barrio Norte...o barrios más caros” [that [aʒer] is more from Recoleta or Barrio Norte...or more expensive neighborhoods]. In even more detail, M4 explained his response about Speaker 3: “porque hay una característica distintiva...no dicen [afer], dicen [aʒer], o sea, es una pronunciación distinta y nosotros eso lo atribuimos a un grupo social alto, económicamente hablando, que vive en ciertas partes de la capital” [because there is a distinctive characteristic...they don’t say [afer], they say [aʒer], that is, it is a distinct pronunciation and we attribute that to a high class group, economically speaking, that lives in certain parts of the capital]. M4’s quote clearly lays out the situation, at least as he sees it. This specific use of the voiced variant is attributed to the higher-class groups, which is confirmed by the quotes from F8 and F2.

Since the participants were asked to assess their own pronunciation as well, they often talked about the variable and social class with a particular affect or stance. For most participants, the stance taken on was negative towards the voiced variant. When asked to

explain her answer about Speaker 3, F5 said, “es una cheta...por la pronunciación” [she is *cheta*...because of her pronunciation]. While it is not entirely clear from the context what F5 meant by “pronunciation”, it is likely that she was signaling the studied variable because she had just identified the difference between the voiced and voiceless variants. Using the same vocabulary, M9 conveyed, “pronunciar mucho la [ʃe] quizás no es tan concheto” [pronouncing [ʃ] a lot maybe isn’t as *cheto*]. While the statement is inverted in comparison to that of F5, they are saying the same thing. The voiced variant, and not the voiceless variant, is snobbish. Beyond simply stating the relationship, F5 and M9 take on a negative stance towards the voiced variant, calling it *cheto(a)* and making sure it is known that it is not something they associate themselves with. These explicit statements match the implicit attitudes given in that *cheto(a)* was often mentioned in the overall description of Speakers 1 and 3. Due to its frequent use, the exact valence that is implied by the term constitutes an important area of further analysis.

Much in contrary to many other participants, F7 instead expressed a negative stance towards the voiceless variant. By far the most explicit with her attitudes, she said, “la [ʃe] por lo general no está muy bien vista” [[ʃ] generally isn’t well thought of]. While F5 and M9 distanced themselves away from the voiced variant, F7 made efforts to disassociate herself from the voiceless variant. As stated before, F7’s individual interview will be discussed in detail at the end of this chapter. Overall, the implicit and explicit language attitudes show that age and social class are relevant to the discussion of the variable and that different people may have different ways of associating the variable with these social categories.

3.5 Self-Assessment

As can be seen in the methodology, the participants were asked at some point in the second part of the interview to determine which speaker of the three most resembled their own speech. The original purpose of this self-assessment was to be able to compare it to the participants' actual production of the variable. Once all of the participants have been analyzed acoustically, their production will indeed be compared to their self-assessment; however, it is once again important to keep in mind that there are many differences between the three speakers of the audio stimuli. It is likely that participants were responding to gender, overall intonation or other factors when they decided whom they spoke like. At any rate, the self-assessment provided by the participants can give an insight to the social baggage carried by the variable. The overall results of the self-assessment can be seen in Table 5.

Table 5: Self-assessment of the participants, broken down by the speaker that they self-identified with

Speaker 1	9
Speaker 2	9
Speaker 3	3

Overwhelmingly, the majority of the participants identified with Speakers 1 and 2. The numbers in the table do not add up to nineteen because there were two participants who placed themselves in between two speakers. F6 expressed that she thought her speech was in between Speakers 1 and 2, while F7 said her speech was in between

Speakers 1 and 3. One interesting thing to note about the overall self-assessment is that there were several participants who crossed gender lines. Not including F7, seven out of the nine female participants assessed that their speech was most similar to that of one of the two male speakers. In addition, there was one male participant, M8, who said his speech was most like that of the female speaker. These results show that perhaps the effect of gender on self-assessment was not as great as might be expected; however the fact that there were two male speakers and only one female speaker is still a minor cause for concern.

There were a few instances in which the participants used qualifying statements to justify their self-assessment. In line with his quote shown above, M9 identified himself with Speaker 2 and made it very clear why: “No soy concheto” [I am not *cheto*]. As was discussed earlier and can be seen in this emphatic quote from M9, some participants were quick to use the variable to place themselves within a model of certain types of people. Also, a few participants expressed the fact that their own speech exemplified something between the two extremes. F4 asserted that her speech was not exaggerated, that is, on neither end of the spectrum, and F5 said, “no soy ni muy muy ni tan tan...yo siento que tengo un intermedio” [I am not too much like one or the other....I feel like I have something in between]. These self-assessments are clearly tied to the language attitudes expressed. In the case of F5, it is in her favor to represent herself as being in the middle of the continuum because that puts her somewhere in between gas station attendant (her occupation response for Speaker 1) and *cheto(a)*.

As was stated in the methodology, the participants were asked to confirm their self-assessment by listening to themselves after the interview was over. Unsurprisingly,

participants in general were not too fond of hearing their own voice; however, no participant was significantly bothered by it. M8 was the only participant to completely change his self-assessment. After hearing himself speak, he decided that he sounded more like Speaker 2 than Speaker 3. This change is not particularly significant because he is in the “variable not recognized” category, so there could have been any number of reasons that he changed his mind. What is significant, however, is that in considering his changed response, there were only two participants who self-identified with Speaker 3. Two other participants, although they did not completely change their self-assessment, had something to say about their speech after hearing it. M9 was a bit shocked after hearing his own speech and expressed that he was actually more [ʃ] than he had thought. F5 experienced a similar reaction and decided perhaps she actually fit more in between Speakers 1 and 2. It seems that upon hearing herself speak, she was not quite as “intermediate” as she might have thought before.

Despite the observed disconnect between F5’s self-perception and her actual speech, the participants whose production was analyzed acoustically were generally quite accurate in their self-assessments. The comparison of self-assessment to actual production can be seen in Table 6. As can be seen in the table, four out of the six participants were spot on with their self-assessments. M1, M9, and M10 all thought they sounded most like Speaker 2 and correspondingly they all have a majority of voiceless tokens. Also, F7 thought her speech fell somewhere in between Speakers 1 and 3, which follows with the fact that over two-thirds of her tokens are partially or fully voiced. On the other hand, F3 and F4 self-identified with Speaker 1, but in actuality produced mostly voiceless tokens.

Table 6: Six participant's self-assessment compared to their production as seen in the results of the acoustic analysis detailed in 4.1

Participant	Self-Assessment	Voiceless	Partially Voiced	Fully Voiced
M1	Speaker 2	7	2	0
M9	Speaker 2	10	1	0
M10	Speaker 2	16	0	0
F3	Speaker 1	11	0	0
F4	Speaker 1	20	2	2
F7	Between 1 and 3	10	7	17

While the results from Table 6 are very interesting, they must be kept in the context of the interview. More tokens would be needed for each participant to make a strong conclusion about the accurateness of their self-assessment. Also, since there were other differences between the three speakers, the participants could have been using a variety of auditory clues in deciding their self-assessment. That being said, many of the quotes earlier in this section show that some of the participants utilized the variable in very real ways to self-identify. Additionally, it would be a large coincidence that four out of the six participants made accurate self-assessments if they were responding to something entirely other than the variable.

3.6 Participant F7

F7 is of particular interest to the present study because of her deviation from the other participants in terms of both production and perception. A copy of the transcript from her interview can be found in the appendix and will be helpful in understanding the following analysis. F7's production of the variable will be discussed first, followed by a more in-depth examination of her perception results. There were 34 tokens of the variable

in F7's interview and all of them were acoustically analyzed, producing the results in Table 7.

Table 7: Acoustic analysis results for participant F7, broken down into the first and second parts of the interview

	Voiceless	Partially Voiced	Voiced
Part One	9	6	6
Part Two	1	1	11

Yates' p-value = 0.02859567

Table 7 shows the distribution of the tokens of the variable for F7 in the first and second parts of the interview. When compared to the production of the other participants analyzed, F7 is unique simply because she had more partially and fully voiced tokens than anyone else. Another interesting observation about the production results for F7 is that her speech changed throughout the course of the interview. In the first part of the interview, when we were just talking about general topics, F7 had mostly voiceless and partially voiced tokens; however in the second part of the interview, F7 produced an overwhelming majority of voiced tokens. While there are a small amount of tokens in each part of the interview, the effect of the shift from voiceless and partially voiced tokens to fully voiced tokens is statistically significant. This shift may have been unconscious; however, it is extremely significant when taken into consideration alongside her language attitudes.

At first glance, it seems that F7 made quite contradictory statements during the second part of her interview. Early on, she states that, “[30] es mucho más, como dicen acá, cheto” [[30] is much more, as they say here, *cheto*]. This aligns in many ways with what the other participants said about the voiced variant. She put somewhat of a distance between her and the voiced variant by calling it the snobbish pronunciation. However, later on, F7 claims that, “la [ʃe] por lo general no está muy bien vista” [[ʃ] generally isn’t well thought of]. When considering both of these quotes, it is unclear what F7’s perception is of the variable because she uses a negative stance when talking about both the voiced and voiceless variants.

F7’s positioning of the variants and of herself become more clear in the self-assessment and in her description of how kids in the school she works in are taught. In terms of self-assessment, she affirms that her speech is somewhere in between Speakers 1 and 3, which as was seen in section 4.5, is generally very accurate. Additionally, F7 confessed that sometimes her speech is sometimes a little more [ʃ] or [3] depending on who she is around because it is a bit “contagioso”[contagious]. In saying that sometimes she is influenced to be a little more towards the voiced or voiceless variant, she is firmly positioning herself as the intermediate between the two. As someone who works in human resources, F7 goes on to explain that, “empresas grandes y todo...prefieren ellos la [3e] que es más, más suave” [big companies and everything...they prefer [3] that is more, more mild]. In her particular case of hiring elementary school teachers, she explains that they want someone who will “trata de que el chico no...no exagere tanto todo. O sea, ni que hable con la [ʃe] ni que hable con la [3e], que hable con algo más intermedio” [try to make sure the child does not....does not exaggerate everything so much. That is, that he

speaks with neither [ʃe] nor [ʒe], but that he speaks with an intermediate]. When I suggested that this “intermediate” was perhaps more neutral, F7 was quick to confirm.

In the context of these further statements, F7’s early comments begin to make more sense. She can use negative affect when talking about both the voiced and voiceless variants without contradicting herself because what she considers to be the “best” is something in between the two extremes. While it is difficult to say for certain, perhaps this is why her speech became more voiced as the interview progressed. It seems an interesting coincidence that when she says “ellos prefieren la [ʒe]”, her production of the token in “ellos” is voiced. It could be that in trying to approximate an intermediate variant, she actually ends up producing fully voiced tokens.

If F7 is true to her word, then this observed change in her speech must be subconscious because she claims to not need to change her speech. When she made the comment about how companies prefer the voiced variant, I asked her if she would change her speech for an interview and she promptly responded, “No, porque yo hablo bi...yo hablo así. O sea, hablo, para mí es normal como hablo. Si...o hablara con la [ʃe], calculo que trataría de suavizarlo un poco” [No, because I talk we-....I talk like this. That is, I talk, for me it’s normal how I talk. If...I talked with [ʃ], I figure I would try to tone it down a little].

Through this detailed examination of F7’s interview, we can see that the difference between the voiced and voiceless variants is something that is very salient to at least some of the population sampled. What is clear is that F7, as well as a few other participants, use the variable in very relevant ways to identify and position themselves. This shows that the distinction between the voiced and voiceless variants is not just a

construct made up by linguists. While it not may be significant for all populations of Buenos Aires, the results from all of the language attitudes show that this difference in pronunciation is very real for some people and that it influences everyday interactions. Since the participants easily made overt attitude statements and self-identified in terms of the variable, we can see that the variable is likely to be something they use in their everyday lives to form perceptions and judgments.

Chapter 4: Discussion and Conclusions

Keeping in mind the research question, there are two inquiries to be examined: whether or not young, educated *porteños* can recognize the variable and what attitudes might they attach to the variable. Turning first to the question of variable recognition, the results indicate that some young, educated *porteños* are cognizant of the difference between [ʃ] and [3]. As stated before, the study only deals with conscious awareness and therefore it cannot reveal whether or not the participants in the “variable not recognized” category were unconsciously aware of the variable. The fact that over half of the participants were consciously aware of the variable is significant because it contradicts what past research had said about awareness, stating that only the upper class is conscious of devoicing (Wolf 1984). While the exact social class categorization is unknown for my participants, it is unlikely that all of the ones in the “variable recognized” category are members of the upper class. As seen in Table 1, there were participants from central *Capital Federal* who are therefore perhaps middle class. Thus, it seems that conscious awareness of devoicing is present in other social classes besides the upper class.

The results comparing recognition to distance from the city further show that the difference between [ʃ] and [3] may only be salient to those from within the city limits. If this variable is in fact linked to age and social class, it would seem that it is not utilized outside of the city limits to the degree that it is used within the city limits. While this is a clear pattern of the results, due to the small number of participants, the difference in perception of those from *Capital Federal* and those from *Provincia* is something that would have to be further investigated. The fact that some participants did not recognize

the difference between [ʃ] and [ʒ] is surprising because originally I had hypothesized that all participants would be able to recognize the variable. It is of course possible that those participants in the “variable not recognized” category would have expressed the difference in pronunciation if they had been further prodded. However, in some cases it still seems that there are those who do not pay attention to the difference. For example, after being debriefed about what the study was about, M3 stated that that is just not something he focuses on. A task that would get at unconscious awareness would be very useful in this case in order to see what is going on with the “variable not recognized” participants.

Moving on to the second question, the results show a variety of attitudes associated with the variable. While the implicit language attitudes may be based on other differences between the three speakers, the fact that in general they coincide with the explicit attitudes expressed leads me to believe that participants were in fact responding to the variable in both cases. The results from both implicit and explicit language attitudes show that the perception of the variable is involved in a complicated system of attitudes. While some participants overtly linked the voiced variant to older age, many others expressed that it has more to do with social class. There are historical reasons for the variation found in the language attitudes. Since devoicing is a trend that started in the twentieth century, it was originally associated with the particular generation in which it started. From there, as the change extended, the voiced variant became characteristic of the older generations that came before the change took root. Now, however, it is clear that besides a generational distinction, the voiced variant may be seen by some *porteños* as typical of the upper class. It is unclear at this point whether there is a combined effect

of age and class on the perception of the variable or whether these two social categories act separately.

The overall results from the language attitudes match up with previous results from production studies. The current results show that social class and age are relevant to perception of the variable, which follows with the fact that age and social class come out as significant factors in production studies of the variable. It makes sense that my participants associate the voiced variant with the upper class because the upper class most disfavours the use of [ʃ] (Rohena-Madrado 2008). The general link between the variable and social class is confirmed by the fact that participants mentioned social class on their own, even though it was not explicitly elicited. What needs to be called into question, however, is the notion of social class. While the participants many times responded with clear categories of “Middle Class” or “Upper Middle Class”, it cannot be said what exactly is meant by these categories or what they personally associate with each. When F7 states that “the [ʃ] isn’t very well thought of”, some obvious questions are by whom it is not well thought of and in what contexts.

Also called into question by the results from my interviews is the notion of prestige. Traditional ideas of prestige claim that if a linguistic variant is linked to the upper class, then it will be seen as desirable to members of the community in which the relationship exists. As Eckert (2000) recognizes in the final chapter of her book, “the crucial dynamic is not so much the construction of prestige and stigma as the construction of identities” (p. 227). This seems to be what is going on with some of the participants in my study. They may agree that the voiced variant is linked to the upper class, but some of them also have a very strong attitude against it. A characteristic example of this can be

found in the responses and self-assessment from F6. While she quite easily stated the relationship between the voiced variant and the upper class, she was adamant about which speaker she sounded like: “el primero o el segundo, la tercera no, de ninguna manera” [the first one or second one, not the third one, not at all]. F6 is not concerned as much with the prestige that may be associated with the voiced variant, but instead creates an identity for herself that is very far away from those people who use it. As was seen with Eckert’s participants, my participants “are making a positive statement rather than simply avoiding forms that are more stigmatized” (p. 227). While it still remains unclear if there is a particular form that is overall prestigious or stigmatized, it is very clear that the participants are making a statement of who they are.

Important to the discussion of prestige in this community is how acceptable it would be for speakers to be seen as accommodating to the voiced variant. First, the participants recognize that some people may in fact be acting when they use the voiced variant in order to seem higher class. F4 expressed that it is possible that Speaker 3 was in fact putting on a show and was not so voiced in real life. Similarly, F6 talked about the “chicos de la Universidad de Belgrano...que marcan más la i griega” [kids at the private university...who mark more strongly the “y”] and made it clear that she thought Speaker 3 was one of them. Second, the participants recognized that sometimes the voiced variant is contagious, but they were very insistent that this assimilation is unconscious. F2 admitted that her speech sometimes changed when she was around voiced speakers, however stated, “pero no porque me interese demostrar que hablo como ellos...no es consciente, se me pega la forma” [but not because I’m interested in showing that I speak like them...it’s not conscious, I pick it up].

Though they might recognize that some people accommodate to the voiced variant and that in some cases one or both of the variants can be contagious, not a single participant admitted to consciously accommodating to the voiced variant. Much to the contrary, accommodating was seen very negatively. M9 and F5 claimed that they couldn't even produce the voiced variant because they do not pertain to that group; they are not *cheto*. As seen in the analysis in 4.6, F7 went even further to say that she herself does not need to accommodate because her speech is fine, but she could understand if someone did. These statements give a very different view of class and prestige. Most of the participants who voiced strong attitudes are basically saying that there is this one variant that marks wealthy speakers, but that they do not want to have anything to do with it. Although some participants clearly use the variable in some way to construct their own identity, their language attitudes do not pattern along the lines of the traditional notions of prestige and stigma.

The acoustic analysis, detailed in Chapter 4, confirms the general trend in devoicing. With six of the participants analyzed, the majority of the tokens of the variable are voiceless. However, the acoustic results from F7 show that in some cases there may be something else beyond the devoicing trend at work. A current extension of the project looks to analyze the speech of all of the nineteen participants with a quantitative analysis that will compare production of the variable to participants' gender, geographic location within greater Buenos Aires, and variable recognition. It might also be useful to look in detail as was done with F7 at some of the other interviews from those in the "variable recognized" category. These further analyses will hopefully shed even more light on the acoustic and attitudinal situation of the participants.

A clear area of further research on this topic is the focus on more covert or unconscious attitudes. As has been done in many traditional match guise experiments, a further study could ask participants to rate speech on scales of friendliness or intelligence, getting at the more covert associations tied to the variable. In this case, the different audio files would be from the same speaker and the variable would be synthetically altered in order to have voiceless, partially voiced, and fully voiced audio files. In addition, it would be interesting to have native speakers, and perhaps even trained phoneticians, place tokens of the variable on a scale from voiced to voiceless. Since this is a linguistic variable that is obviously on a continuum rather than binary (Chang 2007), a categorization task would allow us to better understand how tokens of the variable are processed in general and how the participants in my study processed them.

Ultimately, it is simply important to keep studying this variable as it continues to progress. With the original devoicing trend and the resistance to devoicing (Wolf 1984), as seen with participant F7, both at play in Buenos Aires, it make sense that at this juncture, there exist a variety of language attitudes. Careful watch of the variable and time will tell whether one of the variants will completely take over or whether variation will persist.

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APPENDIX

Verbal Consent Script

In the target language (Spanish):

Investigador: Estoy haciendo una investigación sobre la lengua española. Voy a preguntarte sobre ti y sobre tu uso del español. La entrevista va a durar mas o menos una hora. El beneficio general del proyecto es el saber más de cómo se usa la habla en Buenos Aires. No hay ningún beneficio directo en participar así que no vas a perder un beneficio o sufrir un castigo si no participas. También no hay ningún riesgo en participar en el estudio. Toda la información sacada va a permanecer privado. La participación es voluntaria y puedes parar en cualquier momento sin perder el beneficio y sin castigo. Está bien si te entrevistó?

Participante: Sí (o no).

Investigador: Está bien si grabo nuestra conversación?

Participante: Sí (o no).

In English:

Researcher: I am doing research about the Spanish language. I'm going to ask you questions about yourself and about your use of Spanish. The interview will last more or less one hour. The general benefit of the project is the increased knowledge of how speech is used in Buenos Aires. There is no direct benefit in participating and therefore you will not lose any benefit or receive any penalty if you refuse to participate. Also, there is no risk or discomfort in participating. All of the information taken will remain private. Participation is voluntary and you may stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits. May I interview you?

Participant: Yes (or no).

Researcher: May I record our conversation?

Participant: Yes (or no).

Guía de la Entrevista

Estoy haciendo una investigación sobre la lengua española. Voy a preguntarte sobre vos y sobre tu uso del español. La entrevista va a durar mas o menos una hora. El beneficio general del proyecto es el saber más de cómo se usa la habla en Buenos Aires. No hay ningún beneficio directo en participar así que no vas a perder un beneficio o sufrir un castigo si no participás. También no hay ningún riesgo en participar en el estudio. Toda la información sacada va a permanecer privado. La participación es voluntaria y podés parar en cualquier momento sin perder el beneficio y sin castigo. ¿Está bien si te entrevisto? ¿Está bien si grabo nuestra conversación?

Preguntas Generales

1. ¿Cuántos años tenés?
2. ¿Dónde naciste? ¿Has vivido todo tu vida en Buenos Aires?
3. ¿En que barrio de Buenos Aires vivís ahora? ¿Siempre viviste allá?
4. ¿Cómo es tu familia? ¿Cuántos hermanos tenés?
5. ¿Qué estudiás? ¿Qué estudiaste en la universidad? ¿En qué trabajás ahora?
6. ¿Qué te gusta hacer en tu tiempo libre?
7. ¿Cómo es tu grupo de amigos? ¿Son del colegio, de la universidad, del trabajo?
¿Son de tu edad?
8. ¿Cuál es tu barrio favorito de Buenos Aires, por qué? ¿Salís mucho en la ciudad?
(show pictures if haven't naturally produced)

Reconocimiento de los variables

(listen to the first set of files)

1. ¿Hay una diferencia entre los tres archivos de audio? ¿Qué es la diferencia?
- (listen to the second set of files and ask same)

Percepción de si mismo

1. De los tres archivos, ¿cuál parece más a tu habla? ¿Siempre hablás así o solamente en algunos contextos? ¿Te parece que hablás lo mismo que tus familiares y amigos o diferente?

Actitudes de los variables

1. ¿Cómo te parece el hablante del primer archivo de audio? ¿Qué es su edad aproximada, su barrio de residencia, o su carrera posible?
2. ¿Y el hablante del segundo archivo de audio?
3. ¿Y el hablante del tercer archivo de audio?

Interview Guide

I am doing research about the Spanish language. I'm going to ask you questions about yourself and about your use of Spanish. The interview will last more or less one hour. The general benefit of the project is the increased knowledge of how speech is used in Buenos Aires. There is no direct benefit in participating and therefore you will not lose any benefit or receive any penalty if you refuse to participate. Also, there is no risk or discomfort in participating. All of the information taken will remain private. Participation is voluntary and you may stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits. May I interview you? May I record our conversation?

General Questions

1. How old are you?
2. Where were you born? Have you lived your whole life in Buenos Aires?
3. In which neighborhood of Buenos Aires do you live now? Have you always lived there?
4. What is your family like? How many siblings do you have?
5. What do you study or what did you study in college? What do you work in now?
6. What do you like to do in your free time?
7. What is your group of friends like? Are they from high school, college or work? Are they your age?
8. What is your favorite neighborhood of Buenos Aires and why? Do you go out a lot in the city?

(show pictures if they haven't naturally produced the variable)

Variable Recognition

(have them listen to the first set of files)

1. Is there a difference between the three audio files? What is the difference?

(if no variable recognition, have them listen to the second set of files and ask the same question)

Self-Perception

1. Of the three files, which is most like your way of speaking? Do you always talk like this or only in certain contexts? Do you think you speak the same or differently than your friends and family?

Variable Attitudes

1. What does the speaker of the first audio file seem like? What is their approximate age, neighborhood of residence, and likely occupation?
2. How about the speaker of the second audio file?
3. How about the speaker of the third audio file?

Picture that would have been used to elicit production of the variable:



F7 Transcription

(first part)

[001] (consent speech)

[F7] ¿Estás preocupada ahora? (laughter) Eh, un poco.

[001] (continued consent speech)

[F7] Muy bien.

[001] ¿Está bien si te entrevisto?

[F7] Sí, por favor. Muy bien.

[001] ¿Y está bien si grabo nuestra conversación?

[F7] Sí, no hay ningún problema.

[001] Muy bien. ¿Dónde está mi bolígrafo?

[F7] Sobre todo por lo del castigo. (laughter). No hay castigo entonces sí. (laughter)

[001] Y bueno, ¿cuántos años tenés?

[F7] Veintisiete.

[001] Sí, jovencita.

[F7] Ah, gracias.

[001] A ver. Y- ¿dónde naciste?

[F7] En Buenos Aires...en la Capital Federal.

[001] Y- bueno, ahora vivís en Belgrano.

[F7] Vivo en Belgrano.

[001] Siempre vivi-

[F7] Siempre viví en Belgrano. En diferentes casas pero sí, dentro del barrio de Belgrano.

[001] Muy bien. A ver. Ya se pero cuéntame, ¿cómo es tu familia? ¿Cuántos hermanos tenés?

[F7] Mi familia...tengo un hermano **mayor [maʒor]** que tiene veinte y nueve años, se llama **[ʒama]** (name removed). Y mi mamá, que no se puede decir la edad. (laughter)

[001] Está bien. No hace falta.

[F7] Claro. Y- después vivo con mis abuelos, con los padres de mi mamá. Tampoco les digo la edad. (laughter)

[001] Está bien...y...¿qué estudiaste en la universidad?

[F7] Varias cosas. Eh, lo último que estudié fue profesorado de inglés. Así que, sí.

[001] ¿En qué facultad?

[F7] En la universidad de...ay, (inc) de San Agustín, se llamaba. Sí, en Palermo.

[001] Hace mucho que...

[F7] Y terminé en el año dos mil cinco. Dos mil cinco o dos mil seis.

[001] Por eso hablás inglés perfectamente.

[F7] No pero, porque fui a un colegio inglés y porque viví afuera entonces eso (inc)...no aprendí mucho inglés en el profesorado.

[001] ¿No?

[F7] No, nada. Nada de inglés. Al contrario. Me retrasó bastante.

[001] ¿Así? ¿Por qué?

[F7] Porque había mucha gente que iba a estudiar a aprender inglés a un profesorado en vez de ir a un instituto de inglés.

[001] Mm.

[F7] Entonces, la gente que quería ser profesor no tenía una base en inglés.

[001] Ay.

[F7] Y **yo [ʒo]**, eran las diez de la noche y seguimos viendo el “verb to be” por ejemplo.

Entonces, era como..

[001] Oh...

[F7] Sí, muy aburrida. Muy aburrida.

[001] Sí, sí.

[F7] Pero bueno, sí.

[001] Bueno. Que quería decir...ah, ¿viviste afuera? ¿Cuándo?

[F7] Viví en el año dos mil cuatro en Boston y en North Carolina.

[001] No sabía...¿por cuánto tiempo?

[F7] Y estuve un poco...como cinco meses más o menos.

[001] ¿Estabas trabajando?

[F7] Trabajé oper **allá [aʒa]**.

[001] ¿De qué?

[F7] Oper.

[001] Ah, de..

[F7] Sí, tipo nanny. Estuve en Boston menos de dos meses y un poco más que dos meses en Carolina del Norte.

[001] Que lindo, nunca fui a Boston.

[F7] Ay, es la ciudad más linda del mundo. La gente no me gustan igual.

[001] ¿No? (laughter)

[F7] No.

[001] ¿Cómo son?

[F7] Eh, snobbish. Y sí, muy, sí, no...no sé. Creo que no les gusta mucho la gente de afuera. A los de Bo-...”born and raised” o sea la gente que viste nació y se crió en Boston, que de hecho es la persona con quien **yo [ʒo]** viví, o sea mi madre adoptiva digamos en este momento, no resultó ser muy buena persona. Pero bueno.

[001] Pero podiste...

[F7] Pero bueno, conocí. Conocí la ciudad, conocí gente. Tengo una muy amiga que, que sigue viviendo **allá [aʒa]**. Así que, por lo menos saco lo positivo de la experiencia.

[001] Bueno, barbaro. Y...¿en qué trabajas ahora?

[F7] Ahora trabajo en una escuela. Eh, no como profesora sino en la parte de recursos humanos y administración.

[001] En una escuela...o sea...

[F7] En el mismo colegio donde fui **yo [ʒo]** y fue mi hermano.

[001] Ah, que bueno.

[F7] Sí, es que como estoy en la misma ambiente de hace veintiséis años. (laughter) Más o menos.

[001] Está bueno. Es familiar.

[F7] Es muy familiar. Es como mi segunda casa. O sea **yo [ʒo]** conozco a muchos profesores y empleados y todo, así que, no es mucho más difícil, no hay que pagar ...acá se dice pagar el derecho del piso. O sea como tenés que estar un tiempo para poder...

[001] Claro, sí.

[F7] ...tener voz, para decir algo. En este caso no, porque **ya [ʒo]** me conocen todos y **yo [ʒo]** conozco a todos. Así que, sí, es muy cómodo.

[001] Que bueno. Y, ¿qué te gusta hacer en tu tiempo libre?

[F7] En mi tiempo libre, viajar me gusta mucho. Me gusta mucho viajar, me gusta mucho...

[001] ¿Por Argentina o afuera?

[F7] Los últimos veranos, sí, viajé, veranos y inviernos viajé en Argentina. O sea, durante el resto de mi vida, viajé mucho afuera, pero estos tres, cuatro últimos años me quedé y estuve en Mendoza, Salta, todo el Norte, toda la parte norte.

[001] Ah, me encanta...

[F7] Y ahora tengo la duda pendiente de ir al sur, a conocer toda la parte del sur.

[001] Sí, sí, fui a Calafate, muy lindo.

[F7] Ay, sí. Espectacular, sí. Así que tengo ganas.

[001] ¿Cómo es tu grupo de amigos? ¿Son del colegio...del trabajo...de la vida?

[F7] No...tengo. Es que en realidad mi amiga de toda la vida es la hija de los dueños de mi colegio. Y **yo [ʒo]** trabajo en la misma oficina con **ella [eʃa]**. O sea estoy en la misma oficina. Y después mis amigos son...en realidad, no hay un grupo de amigos. Son como diferentes amigos por separados.

[001] ¿Unos grupitos?

[F7] Sí, ni siquiera grupitos tampoco. Son uno por separado...**ya [ʃa]** a estas alturas como que son parejas, entonces es como que bueno, **yo [ʃo]** voy con mi amiga y el novio, y si **yo [ʒo]** estoy de novia, con mi novio, o sea es más así, pero no grupos de amigos, no. Tengo así como muchos amigos pero por separados.

[001] Y, ¿son de tu edad más o menos?

[F7] Por lo general son más grandes. Sí, uno o dos, tres años más grandes, sí. Siempre fue así.

[001] Pero más...

[F7] Sí, menos de triente y más de veinticinco por ejemplo.

[001] Uh, ¿cuál es tu barrio favorito de Buenos Aires y por qué?

[F7] Hm.

[001] Eso es para curiosidad más que nada.

[F7] ¿De la Capital lo de Buenos Aires? Porque tenés Zona Norte.

[001] Los dos.

[F7] ¿Los dos? De Capital, Belgrano me gusta mucho. Barrancas de Belgrano, que es donde estamos nosotros.

[001] Sí, sí.

[F7] Que es, no sé, donde tenés mucho verde, tenés muchos parques.

[001] Muy tranquilo.

[F7] Y, **yo [ʒo]** vivo sobre la avenida, o sea, no es tan tranquilo, pero, pero es como que hay mucho verde. Uno puede salir al balcón y ver los bosques de Palermo, o sea es como que más o menos, está bueno. Y de Buenos Aires, de la ciudad de Buenos Aires, me gusta más San Isidro, Martínez, toda la Zona Norte que es más, hay más casas, no hay edificios. Está cerca del río, me gusta mucho el río, entonces..

[001] Y sobre la costa, todo eso.

[F7] **Yo [ʃo]** la verdad la ciudad no elegiría para vivir, me gusta más los barrios más tranquilos.

[001] O sea, si podrías...

[F7} Me mudo a una casa. Me mudo a una casa.

[001] ¿Por la norte?

[F7] Sí, Martínez, toda esta zona. No me gusta nada el ruido y...

[001] Yo tampoco.

[F7] Es muy estresante.

[001] Sí, yo no creo que me podría quedar por más que un año..

[F7] No, sí, no. **Ya [3a]** a esta edad y tenía un novio que vivía siempre en el campo, entonces, **yo [ʃo] llegué [ʃege]** a conocer el pueblo, a las afueras, entonces es como que me...sí, yo quiero un poco de pueblo, **yo [3o]** viviría feliz en el campo. Sí, la verdad.

(second part 8:39)

[001] Bueno, eso es todo de esta parte y ahora voy a...

[F7] Bueno.

[001]...hacerte escuchar algunas cositas.

[F7] Dale.

[001] ¿Está bien?

[F7] Sí.

[001] Bueno, son tres archivos. Eso es el primero.

(listen to first speaker)

[001] Ah y solo quiero que, que me digas si hay una diferencia entre las tres. El segundo.

(listen to second speaker)

[001] Y...el tercero. (laughter)

(listen to third speaker)

[F7] Sí, obvio.

[001] ¿Qué es la diferencia?

[F7] En los tres hay diferencias. El...a ver, como diría. Es la diferente forma de pronunciar que tiene el porteño, por lo general. Eh, sí. Todos lo ligán mucho a la parte de la clase social, digamos, en parte, y en parte el barrio y el grupo de amigos. Ay, **yo [3o]** por ejemplo digo **yo [3o]**, no digo yo [ʃo]. O sea, el primero es normal, un yo [ʃo], común. El segundo es un yo [ʃo] y el tercero es un yo [3o]. El yo [3o] es mucho más, como dicen acá “cheto”. O sea, la cosa de ay, “yo, yo” [3o, 3o] así. El yo [ʃo] es más del barrio, menos, menos, **yo [3o]** lo escucho menos en realidad, yo [ʃo]. Y el yo [3o] normal es lo que...bah, por ahí la gente no entiende mucho, pero sí, le nota mucha diferencia, en realidad.

[001] Así que, ¿dirías que hablas más como el primero?

[F7] Eh, ssss..entre el primero y el tercero. Sí, en realidad, sí. Más o menos.

[001] Y, a ver, ¿podrías adivinar de donde, de dónde son y de que edad son más o menos?

[F7] Eh..

[001] ¿Y que carrera tienen posiblemente?

[F7] Ay, suena medio discriminativo. (laughter)

[001] Está bien.

[F7] Sonaría medio mal. Pero, a ver, ponéme de vuelta.

[001] ¿Quieres escuchar? Sí.

(listen to first speaker again)

[F7] Ese chico es de mi barrio. (laughter) Pero porque sí, o sea, porque **yo [3o]** lo asocio con mis amigos y habla más o menos...

[001] ¿Vive por acá, por..?

[F7] Sí, por la capital...

[001] Palermo.

[F7] Sí, más Belgrano, sí, Belgrano. Es que en realidad tampoco pasa...es que...a ver, por ejemplo. En un barrio, por ejemplo en Palermo, podés tener el colegio más caro de Buenos Aires y al mismo tiempo tenés colegios del estado donde son gratis. Y son dos grupos, eh, sociales completamente diferentes que conviven en el mismo barrio. Entonces, por ahí, por eso te decía el decir que...este es de Belgrano y **yo [3o]** por ahí el segundo también es de Belgrano, en realidad. Porque **yo [3o]** conozco gente de Belgrano que habla con la [ʃe].

[001] Mmhmm, está bien.

[F7] Pero, sí, sí.

[001] Y, ¿cuántos años tiene este tipo?

[F7] Y debe tener mi edad un poco, más o menos. Promedio veinte y largos.

[001] El segundo.

(listen to second speaker again)

[F7] Eh, [ʃu]. (laughter) Ehm...no también, joven. Pero sí, se nota como que es más...no sé como explicarlo. Se nota como que no, no fue nunca a un colegio privado caro con una cierta...

[001] O sea...

[F7] ...posición social alta, digamos. Por un tema de cómo habla el resto de la gente que **yo [3o]** conozco por lo menos que habla....que no habla así.

[001] Clase med...

[F7] Clase media. Sí.

[001] Normal.

[F7] Normal.

[001] Está bien.

[F7] Totalmente.

[001] Y, a ver, el tercero.

(listen to third speaker again)

[F7] Esa es más grande, una señora más grande, bah, señora, tendrá cuarenta o un poco menos. Y no, esa vive en Recoleta, más, es otra cosa. Sí se nota que es...lo que pasa es que por ejemplo, hay una generación, mis padres, por ejemplo, hablan mucho con la, con la [ʃe]. Pero porque es normal y toda su generación siendo de cualquier barrio habla con la [ʃe]. No es que, no se usaba...es algo que es más moderno el tema de la [ʃe]. Es más de los ssss..ochenta para adelante. De los años ochenta, noventa.

[001] Tus padres y tus abuelos...

[F7] Todos con la [ʃe].

[001] ...todos como el tercero.

[F7] Mamá, sí, mi mamá como, sí, como el tercero. Sí, sí. **Yo [ʃo]** por eso tengo uno entre el primero y el tercero, o sea es...depende también con que grupo de amigos salga, en realidad, es medio contagioso.

[001] O sea, ¿tu forma de hablar cambia?

[F7] La forma de pronunciar a veces, por ahí. Sí, si estoy con mis, con algunos amigos que hablan con la, con la [fe], voy a decir más [f], pero tengo muchas amigas que son de Recoleta y que hablan con la [3e], no me va a ser tan [3] pero sí, me va a patinar un poquito el acento.

[001] Así que cuando sales con ellas es más...

[F7] Sí, sí, me puede **llegar [3egar]** a contagiar. No, no es lo normal, pero sí, sí reconozco y mi hermano me dice que si me contagia así que calculo que tengo (laughter)...y me dice "pará de hablar como tus amigias" (laughter).

[001] Puede ser, puede ser.

[F7] Seguramente.

[001] Y, a ver, que más hay. O sea, depende de, del contexto, hablas diferente a veces.

[F7] Tiene mucho que ver también con, en general con quien estás y, y como querés hablar. O sea, por ejemplo, no sé, en una entrevista de trabajo, hay que cuidar mucho. O sea si vos vas a buscar un trabajo como telefonista, como recepcionista...

[001] Importa mucho la voz...

[F7] Importa muchísimo la voz. Importa mucho la pronunciación y si uno es claro cuando habla y como habla. La [fe] por lo general no está muy bien vista. Salvo que sea un trabajo más moderno, algo más de diseño, más, más urbano, digamos, una cosa más moderna. Pero para empresas grandes y todo, no...prefieren **ellos [e3os]** la [3e] que es más, más suave.

[001] Entonces, para una entrevista, ¿cambiarías como hablas?

[F7] No, porque yo hablo bi...yo **[3o]** hablo así. O sea, hablo, para mí es normal como hablo. Si...o hablara con la [fe], calculo que trataría de suavizarlo un poco. Pero porque yo sé que, yo **[3o]** como trabajo en recursos humanos, sé lo que uno, eh, busca. O sea, yo **[3o]** trabajo por ejemplo con profesores y maestras y maestras de jardines infantiles y uno está enseñándoles a los chicos como hablar. Entonces, hay veces que uno también trata de que el chico no...no exagere tanto todo. O sea, ni que hable con la [fe] ni que hable con la [3e], que hable con algo más intermedio.

[001] Más neutro.

[F7] Más neutro, exacto. Tal cual. Sí, así.

[001] Eso es todo.